

## Message Text

PAGE 01 TOKYO 12486 01 OF 02 080516Z

17

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 L-03 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 ACDA-05 AID-05

OMB-01 TRSE-00 H-02 /067 W  
----- 004478

P R 080455Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3095

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA JAPAN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 12486

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, JA, OVIP (SCHLESINGER, JAMES)

SUBJ: SECDEF VISIT -- AN UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS

SUMMARY: OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF THE VISIT OF SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AND THE RECEPTION THAT HAS BEEN GIVEN IT BY THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE PERSUADES US THAT IT WAS HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL. THE VISIT WAS MATERIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE GOJ IN ITS EFFORTS TO DEVELOP MORE REALISTIC ATTITUDES TOWARD SECURITY ISSUES. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, THE SECRETARY WAS ESPECIALLY EFFECTIVE IN PLACING ON THE PUBLIC RECORD CLEAR STATEMENTS ABOUT U.S. POLICY IN ASIA, PARTICULARLY TOWARD KOREA AND JAPAN, THAT SHOULD GO FAR TO REDUCE, IF NOT ELIMINATE, A NUMBER OF DISTORTIONS AND MISPERCEPTIONS ABOUT OUR INTENTIONS WHICH HAVE LONG PLAGUED THE JAPANESE POLITICAL SCENE. IN ADDITION, THE SPECIFIC AGREEMENT TO EXPAND OUR SECURITY CONSULTATIONS OPENS THE WAY FOR MORE CONCRETE AND REALISTIC DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. THE SECRETARY ACCOMPLISHED ALL OF THIS WITHOUT PROVOKING A COUNTERPRODUCTIVE FUROR OVER ANY OF THE TIME-HONORED CONTROVERSIES THAT HAVE DIVERTED JAPANESE ATTENTION AND DIVIDED OPINIONS IN THE SECURITY AREA FOR SO  
SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 12486 01 OF 02 080516Z

LONG. END SUMMARY.

1. IT IS CLEAR THAT JAPANESE GOVERNMENT LEADERS WERE HIGHLY SATISFIED WITH THE VISIT. THE FACT OF THE SECRETARY'S COMING ITSELF

WENT FAR TO MEET THE SUBSTANTIVE AND POLITICAL OBJECTIVES OF THE MIKI GOVERNMENT, AND THE MATTER-OF-FACT, AUTHORITATIVE EXPOSITION OF U.S. POLICY, BOTH PUBLICLY AND IN PERSONAL DISCUSSIONS, PROVIDED HELPFUL MATERIAL IN SUPPORT OF THE SAKATA EFFORT TO DEVELOP MORE REALISTIC PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF JAPAN'S SECURITY INTERESTS. PRIME MINISTER MIKI, AT A LUNCH HE GAVE FOR AMBASSADOR HODGSON SEPTEMBER 4, EXPRESSED HIS STRONG AND UNQUALIFIED SATISFACTION WITH THE SECRETARY'S VISIT. IN THE CONTEXT OF SIMILAR GRATIFICATION FOR THE SUCCESS OF HIS OWN VISIT TO WASHINGTON, THE PRIME MINISTER UNDERScoreD HIS FEELING THAT THE SECRETARY'S PERSONAL CONSULTATIONS WITH HIS COUNTERPART AND THE OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED FOR MEASURED, AUTHENTIC STATEMENTS OF U.S. POLICY AND INTERESTS TO THE JAPANESE PUBLIC REPRESENTED THE KIND OF DIRECT, EFFECTIVE CONSULTATIONS MIKI WOULD LIKE TO SEE CHARACTERIZE OUR BILATERAL DEALINGS WITH EACH OTHER. SENIOR OFFICIALS IN BOTH THE JDA AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAVE TOLD US THEY SAW NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS GROWING OUT OF THE VISIT. THEY EXPECT FLAK FROM THE OPPOSITION IN THE UP-COMING SPECIAL DIET SESSION, BUT THEY APPEARED TO FEEL THAT, ARMED WITH THE SECRETARY'S CLEAR STATEMENTS OF US POLICY AND INTENTIONS, THEY WILL BE IN GOOD POSITION TO HANDLE THAT DEBATE -- AND, IN FACT, THEY WELCOME IT, IN PART, AS A CHANCE TO GET ON WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUND PUBLIC SECURITY POSITIONS ON SEVERAL MAJOR ISSUES.

2. WE ARE REPORTING MEDIA COMMENTARY SEPARATELY. OVERALL, IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE PRESS HAS FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO REACT TO THE VISIT ALONG CONVENTIONAL CONTENTIOUS LINES. THE FAMILIAR LITANY OF CONCERNS ABOUT THE DANGER OF INADVERTENT JAPANESE INVOLVEMENT IN U.S. NUCLEAR STRATEGY, CREATION OF TRILATERAL ROK/U.S./JAPAN SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, EXPANSION OF THE JAPANESE MILITARY, AND THE JAPANESE DESIRE FOR COMPROMISE INSTEAD OF CONFRONTATION BASED ON STRENGTH HAVE BEEN VOICED. THESE VIEWS, HOWEVER, TENDED TO APPEAR RATHER RITUALISTIC WHEN PLACED ALONGSIDE THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENTS WHICH, FOR THE MOST PART, WERE REPORTED ACCURATELY. BY AND LARGE, PRESS COMMENT HAS THUS FAR BEEN THIN, RELATIVELY LIGHT IN VOLUME AND NOT VERY CONTENTIOUS BY JAPANESE STANDARDS. THIS FACT ALONE MAY MARK SOMETHING OF A WATERSHED.

SECRET

PAGE 03 TOKYO 12486 01 OF 02 080516Z

SECRET

PAGE 01 TOKYO 12486 02 OF 02 080524Z

17  
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 L-03 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 ACDA-05 AID-05

OMB-01 TRSE-00 H-02 /067 W

----- 004477

P R 080455Z SEP 75  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3096  
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI  
COMSUSJAPAN YOKOTA JAPAN

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 12486

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

3. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SECRETARY IN PLACING BEFORE THE JAPANESE PEOPLE CLEAR AND CREDITABLE STATEMENTS OF U.S. POLICY IN A NUMBER OF PREVIOUSLY SENSITIVE AREAS WAS STRENGTHENED BY THE FORTUITOUS TIMING OF THE VISIT. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SECURITY AREAS SINCE THE ADVENT OF MIKI AND SAKATA PRODUCED FEW TANGIBLE RESULTS AS YET, BUT THEY PREPARED THE WAY FOR THE OPENNESS AND AUTHORITY OF THE SECRETARY'S PERFORMANCE. SECRETARY SCHLEISINGER'S PERSONAL IMPACT ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEGREE TO WHICH HIS STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED, EVEN IF NOT TOTALLY AGREED WITH. WE THINK THE FOLLOWING POINTS MADE DURING THE VISIT. ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE DEFENSE POLICY AND OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP AND WILL PROVIDE US WITH SOLID MATERIAL FOR WON LOCAL REPRESENTATION EFFORT IN SUPPORT OF U.S. INTERESTS FOR A LONG TIME TO COME:

A. JAPAN IS AN INDISPENSABLE PARTNER, BUT ONE WE DO NOT WISH TO BE PASSIVE. THE MILITARY BALANCE AND JAPAN'S OWN INTERESTS REQUIRE STRENGTH IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, BASED ON CONTINUED U.S. PRESENCE.

SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 12486 02 OF 02 080524Z

C. THE U.S. INTENDS TO CONTINUE ITS SUPPORT OF KOREA AND DEEPEN ITS COOPERATION WITH JAPAN.

D. NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE MAINLY VALUABLE FOR THEIR DETERRENT EFFECT; AND REGARD THE CONVENTIONAL MILITARY BALANCE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AS ADEQUATE AND DO NOT ANTICIPATE EITHER THE OUTBREAK OF WAR OR THE NEED TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE MUST MAINTAIN THE OPTION, HOWEVER.

E. JAPANESE DEFENSE FORCES FORM AN GOOD NUCLEUS BUT CANNOT FULFILL THE DEFENSE MISSION ASSIGNED TO THEM AT THEIR PRESENT STRENGTH AND EQUIPMENT. THEY NEED AN IMPROVED LOGISTICAL BASE AND QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT WITH REGARD TO ASW AND AIR DEFENSE. JSDF CAN BE SMALL, BUT THEIR SHOULD BE OF HIGH QUALITY. THE ONE PERCENT OF GNP LIMIT IS A QUESTION JAPANESE AUTHORITIES WILL HAVE TO ASSESS, IN TERMS OF REQUIREMENTS TO FULFILL THE MISSION ASSIGNED TO THE JSDF.  
F. WE WOULD LIKE JAPAN SIMPLY TO FULFILL THE DEFENSE ROLE IT HAS ASSIGNED TO ITS FORCES--SELF-DEFENSE OF THE

JAPANESE ISLANDS. WE RECOGNIZE AND SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTIONAL, POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS ON JAPANESE DEFENSE DEVELOPMENT AND ARE NOT PRESSING THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT TO EXCEED THEM.

G. THE U.S. INTENDS TO LIVE UP TO THE OBLIGATIONS IT HAS UNDERTAKEN IN PROVIDING A NUCLEAR UMBRELLA, THE U.S. IS AWARE OF JAPANESE SENSITIVITIES ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND INTENDS TO DEAL WITH THIS MATTER WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SECURITY TREATY, INCLUDING THE EISENHOWER-KISHI STATEMENT OF 1960.

H. THE DETERRENCE STRATEGY CAN BE DIFFERENT IN ASIA THAN IT IS IN EUROPE BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES IN GEOGRAPHY AND DEVELOPMENT OF HOSTILE FORCES. OUR STRESS IN ASIA IS ON CONVENTIONAL PREPAREDNESS.

I. OUR USE OF U.S. BASES IN JAPAN FOR SUPPORT OF A CONTINGENCY IN KOREA WOULD OBVIOUSLY DO NOT CONCEIVE OF A REQUIREMENT FOR MORE THAN LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FROM JAPAN, WHICH BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED DOES NOT REQUIRE PRIOR CONSULTATION.

4. THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SECRETARY'S AGREEMENT WITH MINISTER SAKATA CONCERNING EXPANDED DEFENSE CONSULTATIONS (FORMATION OF AN NEW FORUM UNDER SECURITY CONSULTATIVE SECRET

PAGE 03 TOKYO 12486 02 OF 02 080524Z

COMMITTEE FOR OPERATIONAL PLANNING AND AN ANNUAL MEETING AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL) HAS BEEN REPORTED SEPARATELY. GOJ OFFICIALS HAVE MADE CLEAR THE COMPLETE SATISFACTION OF SAKATA AND THE ADMINISTRATION WITH THESE AGREEMENTS; THEY APPEAR TO DOVETAIL WITH PRIME MINISTER MIKI'S DESIRE TO EXPAND COUNTERPART CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND FIT PERFECTLY WITH THE TACTICAL SCENARIO SAKATA HAS DEVISED IN AN OPEN, POLITICAL FRAMEWORK THAT DEFUSES A POTENTIAL PROBLEM AND CONTRIBUTES TO SUBSTANTIVE PLANNING EFFORTS LONG NEEDED.

5. IN SUMMARY, SECRETARY SCHLESINGER HAS MADE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO PROGRESS IN OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN, THE PRIMARY AREAS IN WHICH SENSITIVITIES AND INHIBITIONS HAVE FOR MANY YEARS BARRED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOJ.  
HODGSON

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 26 AUG 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MINISTERIAL VISITS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 08 SEP 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** izenbei0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975TOKYO12486  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** D750310-1172  
**From:** TOKYO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t197509106/baaaafzf.tel  
**Line Count:** 210  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** izenbei0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 22 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <22 APR 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <19 NOV 2003 by izenbei0>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** n/a  
**TAGS:** MARR, OVIP, JA, (SCHLESINGER, JAMES)  
**To:** STATE INFO SECDEF  
SEOUL  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII  
COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA JAPAN  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

